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# A TIME FOR NEW POLITICS

## An Editorial

THE powerful Conservative majority in the new British House of Commons reflects a world-wide pattern: the degeneration of social democracy.

This is no coincidence, because the social democrats have no policy and programme to meet the needs of today. They have based themselves firmly upon material necessities, and now that Comrade Hunger no longer swells their ranks in the West, we have, as Mr. Macmillan remarked, "the end of the class war."

Capitalism has adapted itself (often with the support of its "critics") to overcome its inevitable contradictions, and the Conservatives are better at running the system than their rivals for office.

We are now reaping the full harvest of the socialist betrayal of half a century ago. When bread-and-butter politics and national patriotism replaced international brotherhood and a concern for human dignity and the creative quality of man's life, the irrelevant politics of the world of today, complete with super-materialism, world wars and apathetic people, became a certainty.

In Britain the Election was the latest move in this direction. Politics was thrown desperately at the people through TV and press. And then, after the results . . . back to normal on Saturday morning.

A obvious example was the Daily Herald ("Labour's only daily paper"). The Editor complained that "frantic attempts to project the Party's image in the space of a few weeks—efforts that should have been spread over the recent years in Opposition—failed."

Yet last Saturday the Herald quickly abandoned politics and announced with photographs and enormous front-page headlines that a former friend of Princess Margaret had become engaged!

Since the Election there has been much thinking about the Opposition. The Liberal leader has raised the possibility of a Grimond-Gaitskell axis as a new alignment to form a moderate "opposition" within the old framework.

What is needed is not a careful steering between two Parties but a completely fresh examination of what are the major problems confronting man. It is this that would reveal the bankruptcy of contemporary conventional politics.

There is a paramount need now to stand firmly for vital principles: resistance to war and imperialism, and affirmation of creative living. These are the areas scarcely touched by present politics.

For example, the majority of British people are still imperialists at heart. They include a large section of the working class, because the Labour machine has never made education about colonialism a major feature of its work. After Cyprus, Hola and Nyasaland the popularity of the Government increases. The public opinion polls showed decisively that this was equally true after the Suez invasion.

The peace movement failed during the Election to assert itself as a genuinely independent and creative force. In this field we shall see in the next few weeks the new alignment of forces, depending on who are prepared to act on their principles.

It is sad to see the New Statesman saying that we "had better accept the peace they (Washington and Moscow) choose to impose." Here we see the degeneration of luke-warm socialism and nuclear disarmament.

The pacifists MPs, too, now that the Election is over, will have to show that they are serious about their principles by revolting against the arms programmes.

We are all challenged to act creatively in the new situation. Only if we start now, however, will there be a moral revival. Without that we shall continue to be ruled by irrelevant politics and administrations of the Old Order.

## On their way to the Sahara



Francis Hoyland follows Michael Randle as they board a Ghana-bound plane at London Airport. They are now in Accra making plans on behalf of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War for an international protest team to go into the Sahara Desert in a bid to halt the forthcoming French atomic weapon tests expected to take place near Reggan.

## A new task for FAU men

From Cyril Harrison

ON August 4, 1914, a young man sat in Sir Norman Angell's study waiting for the clock to strike the midnight hour at which Britain would be at war with Germany. Last Saturday that young man, now the Rt. Hon. Philip Noel Baker, MP, vividly recalled his early days with the Friends Ambulance Unit to some 500 former members (80 of 1914-1919 vintage) gathered at Friends House, London. This re-union, organised by Jack Norton and Ronald Joynes, marked the closing of post-war FAU service. Remaining funds will, it is hoped, be used for encouraging first-aid training at Friends' Schools.

The first world war had its gas attacks, said Philip Noel Baker, but the second had its gas chambers. The first killed more people, but the second killed more indiscriminately. The second war released more evil; a third with atomic weapons would be annihilatingly evil. He not infrequently found people nauseatingly ready to contemplate local war, limited war, peripheral war—war on someone else's territory, and on this account ready to justify the piling of armaments even if they considered a major war unthinkable. So the task of FAU men henceforth should be to prevent war.

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By Fenner Brockway, M.P.

### ELECTION COMMENTS

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## Schweitzer honoured by Frankfurt

DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER was made an "Honorary Citizen" of the city of Frankfurt in a ceremony in the Goethehaus, the birthplace of Goethe, last Friday.

Dr. Martin Niemöller and Peace News correspondent Dr. Lore Frobenius were among the small group invited by the Lord Mayor to attend the ceremony.

The citation referred to Dr. Schweitzer as "the man who taught us that respect for life was an elementary principle of the good."

Dr. Schweitzer's regular visits to the city on the anniversary of Goethe's birth (Aug. 28) have done much to strengthen the support given by the Lord Mayor and leading citizens to the cause of nuclear disarmament, launched as a nation-wide campaign from a mass meeting in the city last year.

The speeches by Canon Collins, J. B.

Priestley, Earl Russell and others made at the London Nuclear Disarmament Congress last year have been printed in a pamphlet, "Europe Calls You" (Europa Ruft), and distributed in all the schools in the city.

## East-West moves

Since the beginning of the year 108 members of the faculty of Leipzig University have crossed the border into West Germany, it was officially announced in Bonn at the week-end.

Negotiations for building an intermediate range ballistic missile base in Turkey have been completed, the New York Times reported on Sunday. The 1,500-mile range missile will cover large areas of Russia.



An exhibition of constructive peacemaking was opened in Nottingham on Monday by the Lord Mayor (right) accompanied by the Lord Mayor of Leicester.

The exhibition, which opens daily at 10.30, in the Friends Meeting House, Friars Lane, closes to-morrow evening at 6.30 p.m. To-night (Friday) it is open until 7.30 p.m.

"I feel that the organisers have activated a reverence for life in an age when there is more violence than ever before," said the Lord Mayor of Nottingham.

With stands and pictorial displays eight peace groups show their own particular contribution to world peace and the way in which the individual can associate himself with practical and humanitarian work.

Mr. J. W. Shipstone is seen above at the Quaker stall where the two Lord Mayors are looking at the Peace News pamphlet "The failure of violence: the challenge of pacifism," by Dr. Martin Niemöller.

Photo: F. H. Woolcott



## Peace through a potter's eyes

**M**OST visitors to St. Ives sooner or later find their way to the Leach Pottery just outside this lovely Cornish town.

Some, if they are lucky, may have the opportunity of watching the processes that go to the making of these pots with an imprint of world repute; the drying, mixing and kneading of local clays, the first shaping of the pot on the wheel; the turning, handling and putting on of spouts and lugs; the firing at white heat which takes place every three weeks in batches of 1200.

Fewer may be aware that Bernard Leach himself, who established the pottery 20 years ago, is a man with a world view no less wide than his reputation and a social philosophy that is very relevant to contemporary problems. He spent much of his youth in Japan, where he was trained by a famous Japanese potter, and has an acute awareness of the humiliations inflicted on the East by Western arrogance. Indeed, he feels strongly that if the West does not voluntarily abandon her "insufferable materialism" and open her perceptions to the deeper cultural values of the East, she may have to undergo a third world war to learn the lesson of common humanity.

The urgent need of the West, he suggests, is to find a belief in wholeness, and here too we can learn from the East. Japanese art, for instance, has always been an integral part of life, and not something "extra" added to it, as is too often the attitude in this country. Our attitude to work, also, must be informed with a new spirit. Zen Buddhism teaches that even the humblest task, such as road-sweeping, can be performed with the consciousness of the "whole man." But industrialisation on the Western pattern has destroyed all love and belief in work, resulting in split personalities as well as split atoms.

He describes how when he spoke to senior boys at the Bristol grammar school, on a show of hands barely ten per cent could be found who had discovered any definite feeling of talent for a particular job; the rest just did not know, or care, about what sort of work they would do. "If even another ten per cent were added," says Bernard Leach, "we might avert another war." We should then have at least the beginnings of an integrated society.

However, he feels that the desire for wholeness is spreading, and this is particularly noticeable in America, where more than 70,000 potters of varying status are now at work outside industry. Once international peace is established this trend is likely to grow. He suggests that ad-

## A PROFILE OF BERNARD LEACH

By MARGARET TIMS



Bernard Leach, holding a jug, leads a workshop discussion on the curvature of its handle.

vances in the techniques of mass-production mean that the output of sheer necessities will reach saturation point. But it is already becoming evident, in America and Scandinavia, that utility alone does not satisfy either producer or consumer. The heart of work—feeling, imagination, freedom of control—is starved if the sole objective is utility.

Bernard Leach has been a pacifist most of his life and this belief is implicit in his whole philosophy. In certain situations, however, he feels that few men could stand aside and make no gesture of resistance; and in the last war, under the

threat of invasion, he joined the Home Guard—though, ideally, he adds, one should overcome one's opponent by moral force alone. That, he feels, is the valid attitude for those who can and do practise what they preach. At the same time, democratic governments have to act on behalf of a vast majority who still believe that force—including atomic force—has at the last resort to be met by force.

He stresses that only a world solution will meet the present critical situation; and a world solution cannot be found without a world belief. In other words, the acceptance of our common humanity

depends on a core of accepted belief. In the past, a Christ or a Mahomet had this kind of vision: now it must be re-created to include the common basis of all faiths.

As a potter, Bernard Leach is concerned to bring beauty into daily life; as a philosopher, he is concerned to give daily life, through wholeness, a beauty of its own. Here is one kind of integration that has already achieved world acceptance, and may yet give rise to others.

## NEWS MISCELLANY

### Prisoners of peace

**M**EN who have gone to prison rather than take part in war preparations will be remembered throughout the world on Prisoners for Peace Day, December 1, this year.

Lists of names and prison addresses of men in gaol will be drawn up and published and peace workers will be invited to send Christmas and New Year greetings.

A new feature of the day in Britain will be a re-union of ex-prisoners for Peace.

All men and women who have been in prison for conscience sake are invited "with their wives and sweethearts" to a social gathering in the Gandhi Memorial Hall, Fitzroy Square, London, W.1, by the Executive Committee of the Peace Pledge Union. Ex-prisoners are asked to make this event known to anyone who might not otherwise hear about it.

There will be a poster parade in London on the Saturday before the Day, followed by an open-air meeting at Foyle's Corner, Manette Street, Charing Cross Road.

### Dr. Soper to speak

**Dr. Donald Soper** gives the concluding talk on October 27 in a series entitled "Papers from the Lamb—Four Aspects of Christian Socialism," taking place at Kingsway Hall on Tuesdays, in October, at 1.15 p.m. Dr. Soper will be speaking on "International Peace." The other speakers are Rev. Stanley Evans, Canon E. Carpenter, and Rev. St. J. B. Grosier.

### £1000 to build church

**T**HE New Zealand pacifist farming community at Riverside, South Island, has given £1,000 towards the building of a Methodist church in the neighbourhood, as well as providing labour for the building of the walls, reports Maurice Hurford, a Southampton, England, pacifist, who has gone out to New Zealand to work at Riverside.

He describes his first months there in the current issue of the Southampton & District Peace Pledge Union Newsletter.

### Airborne to India

**An aircraft** (return fare per seat £110) may take European war resisters to Madras for the Tenth Triennial Conference of the War Resisters International in December, 1960, at Gandhigram, India, while a van may be used by the Pacifist Youth Action Group for over-land travel.

### A prayer for soldiers

**Postcards** bearing "A Prayer for Soldiers, Sailors, and the RAF, and all Rulers" have been printed by (and may be obtained from) Charles Marland, of Hill Crest, Rook Lane, Chaldon, Caterham, Surrey. In a prefatory note on the postcard, Charles Marland appeals to Christians to "be realistic enough to see that we must win allegiance to the Christ-method of life on earth from the humble conscript or army recruit right up to the atom-scientists, statesman, and sovereign authority."

### PEACE NEWS

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# People and places

## A new challenge in the USA

**ERICH FROMM**, one of the best known of American radicals, was in Britain a week or so ago, and I was lucky enough to meet him when he spent a few days in London.

Fromm has played a very active part in the rejuvenation of the American Socialist Party. He is moderately optimistic about the prospects of a revival of radical politics in the United States. Given that radicals are a very tiny section of the population of the United States, they are having some impact, he says. In particular, he feels that people are becoming concerned about the prospect of nuclear war, and he points to the existence and size of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy as evidence of this.

Other evidence is, he thinks, the election of two pacifists, Byron Johnson and William Meyer, to the American Congress. Both these men have been actively attacking the present assumptions of American foreign policy in the House of Representatives.

Radical politics are likely to have rather a different emphasis in the future, according to Fromm. If they are posed in the old terms of slump, unemployment, and decreasing wages, people are bored and uninterested. But if they are posed in terms of the quality of people's lives both at work and in their leisure, then people take a serious interest.

In his books, "The Sane Society" and

"The Fear of Freedom," Fromm has pioneered with this kind of approach. If radical politics are becoming a serious challenge in the United States once more, much of the credit must go to him.

### A Khrushchev joke

**ONE** of the best stories that have been rumbling round Washington since Khrushchev's departure might well be true.

When the Russian leader met Mr. Allen Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and brother of the late Secretary



of State, Mr. K. said that they both read the same reports, and that since the US and Russia got their "intelligence" reports from the same people, the two countries should pool their spy networks "so we don't have to pay twice for the same information."

Officials in the Central Intelligence Agency are now even less talkative than usual.

### Priority for death

**THE** plight of some of the people we didn't hear about during the Election campaign—the Palestine refugees—is getting worse.

After 11 years the chief promise held out to the 1,000,000 refugees there—repatriation or compensation—remains unfulfilled.

And their number is fast increasing: it rose by 34,000 in the year ending June, 1959. Every week there was an average of over 650 new refugees registered!

They register with UNRWA, the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, which helps to feed, shelter, educate and care for them.

Until they are provided with a permanent home or suitable employment, UNRWA will have to continue to concentrate on rendering basic relief rather than on long-term plans to make the refugees self-supporting. To provide time in which a solution to the overall problem can be found is one of the strongest arguments for extending UNRWA's mandate, which expires next June.

This UN Agency is maintained entirely by voluntary contributions, and for 1959 is operating on a budget of about £13,000,000—about a quarter of the cost of France's first small atomic bomb.

But "practical" men put first things first.

### Not true

There is no truth in the rumour that the Queen considered asking the "Don't Knows" to form a Government.

—Phyz

### World peace movement

Jayaprakash Narayan, of the Sarvodaya movement, and A. B. Patel, Ex-Minister of the Kenya Government, are among the members of a Working Committee preparing for a conference in 1961 of the New World Union, a movement for world peace on a spiritual foundation with offices at 1 Commercial Buildings, Calcutta 1.

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### OXFORD COMMITTEE FOR

## FAMINE RELIEF

Supporters Include: Vera Brittain, The Very Rev. George F. MacLeod, Dame Sybil Thorndike.

## Guide to the new Parliament

### IN

New Members of Parliament are in Capitals pacifists are marked \*

#### Members of Labour Peace Fellowship

Frank Allaun\*, S. Awbery, Fenner Brockway, Mrs. Joyce Butler\*, George Craddock\*, Ernest Fernyhough\*, Leslie Hale\*, Emrys Hughes\*, Walter Monslow, LAURENCE PAVITT\*, John Rankin\*, E. C. Redhead\*, Reginald Sorensen\*, George Thomas\*, Victor Yates\*.

#### Labour supporters of nuclear disarmament

John Baird, George Darling, H. Davies, Hugh Delargy, Maurice Edelman, Bob Edwards, Anthony Greenwood, MRS. J. C. M. HART, Ron Ledger, Marcus Lipton, J. P. W. Mallalieu, A. E. Oram, John Paton, Charles Royle, Julius Silverman, Sydney Silverman, David Weitzman, Konni Zilliacus.

### OUT

#### Members of last Parliament in Capitals

Ronald Mallone, Fellowship Party; W. Christopher and W. Park, Independent Labour Party; Lawrence Daly, Independent Socialist and Anti-H-bomb.

#### Labour Peace Fellowship

Fred Barton\*, J. Patterson Bryant\*, Mrs. Anne Clark\*, Sidney Conbeer\*, Norman Hart\*, Rev. Hampden Horne\*, F. McManus, E. Messer, REG MOSS\*, R. Ogley, W. Robins\*

#### Plaid Cymru (Welsh Party)

Gareth Evans, Gwynfor Evans\*, J. Gwyn Griffiths, J. Howell, Glyn James, D. Alun Jones D. Orwig Jones, R. Tudor Jones, Iltid Lewis, B. C. L. Morgan, Eirwyn Morgan\*, Elystan Morgan, Chris Rees, Ioan Bowen Rees, Emrys Roberts\*, H. H. Roberts, Ken Thomas, Nefyl Williams, Noel Williams, Waldo Williams\*.

#### Labour supporters of nuclear disarmament

N. G. Barnett, P. Benenson, FRANK BESWICK, ARTHUR BLENKINSOP, D. Bruce, Mrs. P. L. Davies, A. Evans, Michael Foot, J. H. Ford, W. Hamling, A. Hill, J. Holland, Sidney Hyam, LENA JEGGER, P. Jenkins, R. Kerr, D. Longden, Miss J. Melors, IAN MIKARDO, D. Nisbet, D. Pitt,

G. Richards, V. Richardson, Solly Sachs, N. Selwyn, P. Shore, F. Singleton, T. WILLIAMS, W. Wilson, Walter Wolfgang.

#### Liberal supporters of nuclear disarmament

I. Davies, Mrs. Verdun Perl\*, A. L. Smart, R. Vanderplank.

#### Prepared to defy Whips

##### (a) Labour

F. Bowerman, H. Duffield, Terence Heelas, R. Portus, G. Moodie, J. Marsden, D. V. Williams.

##### (b) Liberals

David Evans, Miss Claire Graham, D. Ridley.

## Penal practice

Frank Dawtry, Secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers, will be the guest speaker on "Penal Practice in a Changing Society—Past, Present and Future," the subject of the North and East Midland Area Conference of the Peace Pledge Union, on Saturday and Sunday, Nov. 7 and 8 at "The Briers," Crich, nr. Matlock, Derby (details from Miss E. Cullingworth, 81 Clarendon Pk. Rd., Leicester).

## 8 TO NEW READERS

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ON October 16, 25 years ago, Dick Sheppard sent to the Press the letter in which he invited post-cards from all those who agreed with him that "war of every kind or for any cause is not only a denial of Christianity, but a crime against humanity

which is no longer to be permitted by civilised people." He added that if the response to his letter was as large as conceivably it might be, a demonstration would be made.

In spite of the fact that few of the national papers published the letter, the response was immediate and impressive. The demonstration promised was held in the following June and was the first of the occasions on which the Albert Hall has been filled at meetings when the full pacifist message was proclaimed.

So the decision was taken to form the Peace Pledge Union, whose aims have always been simple in their form, if far-reaching in their intention. They are to win fresh adherents to the pledge, to proclaim a policy of total unconditional disarmament by Britain, and to seek to create the conditions for total peace.

Today, after 25 years, the contents of Dick Sheppard's letter remains as true as when they were written, and his challenge as relevant as ever. Today, after 25 years, Dick Sheppard's work still goes on and the need for it is as great as ever. That work demands and deserves the increasing activity of all those who believe that the only effective answer to war and the only realistic way to peace is to be found in pacifism, and the financial help necessary for spreading that message.

Do you know of any better way in which to express gratitude for Dick Sheppard's initiative, for our fellowship within the PPU, for what it has achieved and, still more, for what it is going to achieve, than to ask EVERY MEMBER to send a special donation on this twenty-fifth anniversary to the PPU Headquarters Fund?

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1959: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £625.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

## The 'Summit'

SO it is Mr. Macmillan who will go to the "Summit" and not Mr. Gaitskell. It will not make very much difference, for the function of the British leader in these talks will be a very subordinate one. On the question of Berlin (the issue which brought the proposal for talks by the heads of states to the fore again) there has been no difference in attitude as between the Conservative and Labour leaders, and if there is to be any change in the "Western" attitude to this question it will be derived from the second thoughts that President Eisenhower has had after his talks with Mr. Khrushchev.

On the question of a possible area of "disengagement," Mr. Macmillan had moved towards agreement with the Labour view, but had retreated in consequence of West German and French opposition. If anything is to be agreed upon in this field it is the French and German leaders who will have to be persuaded to take a different attitude, and here again it will be from the US Government that the pressures and inducements will be forthcoming and not from the British leader.

Dr. Adenauer has based his policy on the existence of the cold war, and it is the cold war that has enabled the German Government to climb back into power politics with US support. It should be realised, however, that for Britain also it is the cold war that has made possible the fostering of the illusion that it remains a Great Power.

For any approach to an agreed plan for the limitation of armaments, for instance, there will have to be primarily a readiness on the part of the US and Russian Governments to come to terms with each other, and this will mean the beginning of the end of the cold war, which in its turn will mean the birth of an understanding between the two giant Powers.

If we are to have world government this is how it will be likely to arrive, and it will have nothing in common with the democratic procedures upon which, according to Western doctrines, government ought to be based.

The position of the Chinese leader, who is not to be part of the "Summit," will have much more consequence in relation to the decisions it may reach than will the views of Mr. Macmillan, General de Gaulle, or Dr. Adenauer.

An interesting aspect of the time schedule for international discussions, which may prove to have considerable significance, is that according to arrangements made during Mr. Khrushchev's US visit the "Summit" meeting will

be held this year and President Eisenhower's visit to Russia will be later, and will provide an opportunity for the leaders of the two giant Powers to dot the i's and cross the t's of anything they may have arranged at the "Summit" talks.

## Sahara oil . . .

FRANCE hopes for great things from the oil wealth of the Sahara: not only large commercial profits and growing independence from foreign crude oil imports which are a heavy item in her foreign currencies expenditure, but also the prospect of regaining the status of a world Power of the first importance.

Anxious to keep the great treasure house of the Sahara—which is also expected to yield mineral wealth and to become a prolific producer of agricultural goods if it can be irrigated—wholly to herself, she did not want foreign participation in the early days of exploration. She would no doubt still exclude it if she could.

Of the bigger oil companies only the British-Dutch Shell was known to have gained some sort of foothold. Here, of course, it must be remembered that there are so many and intricate associations, participations, affiliations and other ramifications in the oil world that the appearance of only one big company name does not guarantee the absence of other less openly advertised interests.

But whatever the position may be in this respect, American Big Business has not so far been prominent among the participants.

Meanwhile the French have had to realise that their own financial and technical resources are far from vast enough to ensure quick progress. They have also slowly but surely had to give up their obstinate optimism about "the complete pacification" of Algeria.

Yet, before the steady flow to the coast of Saharan oil can become reality, and even before the necessary foreign (mainly American) money and technical equipment for which the conditions call can be obtained, there must be peace in Algeria and satisfactory relations with Morocco and Tunis.

## . . . bargaining starts

THE way the wind is now blowing can be seen in two news reports received at the end of last week. The first was that negotiations were under way between the French Government and Esso-Standard and British Petroleum for the marketing of Saharan oil until 1963. The second, that Mr. David A. Shephard of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey attended and spoke at the inauguration of the first major French refinery, at Bec d'Ambès. And what he said was that his company intends to increase its investments in France.

The basis of bargaining is clear. The French now want American financial and technical co-operation in the Sahara, which the Americans are only too anxious to

give. But with an eye to the good opinion of the Arab world and the Far East, they cannot afford to disregard Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan aspirations. The French, on the other hand, are the holders of the Saharan potential and an indispensable component of NATO.

So, for a change, we find oil interests working in the direction of anti-colonialism. What remains to be seen is how President de Gaulle will manage to curb the reactionarism of the French settlers in Algeria.

## Kassem's politics

THE attempted assassination of General Kassem at Baghdad calls renewed attention to the involved politics of the Middle East and to the precariousness of the Kassem régime.

Four days after the attempt there was still no hard news by whom it had been perpetrated; and the only reasonably trustworthy report was that there had been more than three assailants, all of whom had escaped, with the exception of the actual perpetrator "who had been killed."

In the absence of more definite news it is difficult to avoid the thought that General Kassem's unexpected reversal on September 20 of the decision to spare the lives of political opponents involved in the Mosul revolt of last March must have been decisive in determining the malcontents with his régime in favour of terrorist action.

Terror begets terrorism, and there were now two deeds of terror standing to Kassem's debit: the murders with which he was associated in bringing him to power in July, 1958, and these recent executions, including that of the highly respected Brigadier Tabaqchali.

General Kassem's own endeavours since his advent to power to pursue as liberal a policy as possible, to remain uncommitted between East and West, and to lead Iraq into loyal membership of a progressive but unaggressive Arab world must be conceded. Unfortunately, President Nasser's similarly intentioned efforts with regard to Egypt resulted both before and since the Iraqi revolution in so many changes of political direction that it has happened more than once that one of the two countries had to incline towards the West at a time when the other one had to show greater friendliness towards Moscow.

One complete integration into one unit could have prevented such mishaps; and for that, Iraq as the predestined junior element in the combination despite its natural oil wealth and Egypt's poverty in natural resources was not ready. Hence the repeated mutual approaches, hence also the repeated outbreaks of hostility, with Baghdad looking upon Cairo as the instigator of the Mosul revolt and now permitting its Communist press to accuse the "greedy Fascists" of the United Arab Republic of being behind the attempt on General Kassem's life.

No one can foretell how long the present orientations will last. But for the time being, while Egypt is in a phase of pro-Westernism, Iraq is turning towards Moscow.

# LABOUR AND THE RHINOCEROS

By Geoffrey Carnall

THE most striking election victory last week was in Brazil. In Sao Paulo—Brazil's largest city—the candidate at the top of the poll in the municipal elections was an independent candidate, Cacareco.

She is a female rhinoceros. Her victory, said the Daily Telegraph, "caused deep political concern." A sociologist said that the 50,000 votes for the rhinoceros were "a severe criticism of the regime," and added, "We are on the threshold of revolt."

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Pacifist independents in the British election, contemplating their lost deposits, may well envy Cacareco. Evidently we are not on the threshold of revolt. As the Editor of Reynolds News put it, "more people than we realised like the kind of Britain the Tories stand for, with its opportunities to pick up crumbs from the City table." In the same issue, Tom Driberg complained that the Conservatives had made a "direct, shameless and cunning appeal to the avarice and selfishness endemic in human nature." Most savage of all was an article by Woodrow Wyatt, who said that the election result showed that Britain had lost her conscience. "All that most electors care about is what will happen to them personally."

Many readers of Peace News will object that loyal Labour men like Driberg and

Wyatt have no reason to complain. Hasn't the Labour leadership done its best to stifle the really important issues, in particular the question of disarmament, and force attention on trivialities like a capital gains tax and expense accounts? Woodrow Wyatt has his own answer to this, and it deserves serious thought. He admits that more could have been said about Suez, Hola and Nyasaland. But he also insists that this would have made the Labour defeat even more decisive.

As it is, the Labour Party is accused of saying that Britain is always wrong. "The British mood today is a mixture of complacency at home and irritated anger that we are not the power we used to be abroad." It is all too like the mood that has brought de Gaulle to power in France.

★

Perhaps it is the result of living in ultra-conservatist Belfast, but I think that Woodrow Wyatt's estimate of the situation is pretty accurate. I generally do some canvassing at elections, and it's always an astringent reminder of how remote the world of Peace News (or even The Observer) is from the interests and concerns of most people. If the Labour Party presents the case for the future in terms of share-pushing or income-tax quibbles, this is quite as much a genuine response to the mood of the electorate as it is a party-machine conspiracy to keep people away from matters deep and dangerous.

The class war is obsolete, says Mr. Macmillan. He may be right, so far as Britain is concerned. Obviously it isn't obsolete when one looks at the world as a whole. As a nation we belong to the upper classes. While things go fairly smoothly it seems

likely that we shall have to put up with upper class government. But they won't go smoothly for ever. The poorer nations of the world are developing rapidly, and it makes the imagination dizzy to think of the conflicts of interest, economic and political, that will necessarily result. It is reasonable to hope that we shall get by without a nuclear holocaust, but we shan't do this without a lot of stiff political campaigning. We certainly shan't do it if we all take up the morality of the Stock Exchange.

Colonel Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal is not going to be the last crisis of its kind. Human nature being what it is, there will certainly be strong pressure to react after the manner of the Suez Group: "Squash these wogs!" If Woodrow Wyatt is right, we have to reckon with this mentality getting more powerful rather than less.

★

Fortunately the widespread if largely unacknowledged fear of nuclear warfare is a great educator. One can imagine a crisis in which, even though the majority wanted to react violently, its will to violence would be paralysed by fear. Then a genuinely internationalist party would have the chance to take the initiative, just because it had a constructive policy, and was concerned to find a solution tolerable to all the countries involved. But it would have to be a party at least as strong as the present Labour Party, a coalition of many groups and interests, not all of them specially enlightened on international issues.

That is why, although I sympathise with socialists and pacifists who have lost all

patience with the Labour Party, I still feel we can't do without it. Its virtue may be tarnished, but its heart continues to beat, faintly, in the right place. The bitterest criticism of Conservatives is still that Labour is the party of "scuttle," and this is a great compliment. If, of course, it follows in the path of Mollet, then pacifists will simply have to abandon it. But that would be a frightening setback for internationalism—and it is a setback that has not so far taken place.

Some people think there is more to hope from a Liberal revival. I'd rather put my money on a rhinoceros.

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# ELECTION COMMENTS

A new situation has been created by the British General Election. Peace News publishes below brief comments by a variety of people associated with the peace movement. They were asked:

1. What have been the important lessons of this Election campaign?
  2. How do you now see the way forward for the peace movement?
- Each contributor is, of course, writing in his personal capacity.

## Fenner Brockway, M.P.

Labour Member for Eton and Slough.

I'VE expressed in my article on page seven my view about the reasons for the Tory victory and some of the lessons to be drawn from it.

It is difficult to assess the effect on one's advocacy of unilateral nuclear disarmament and of a wholehearted peace policy. At my meetings I had applause when I urged that Britain should not produce or possess the hydrogen bomb, but my impression is that it came from an enthusiastic minority. It is significant that there was greater and more general applause when I advocated getting rid of American bases in Britain. I and my canvassers found that there was a small section of voters who had decided against me on the ground of the H-bomb, though this was balanced by enthusiasts associated with the Methodist Church.

My suggestions for the peace movement are:

1. That it should stand for a constructive policy at the "Summit" Conference, including the neutralisation and disarmament of Central Europe and the other danger areas.
2. That we should give active support to the Russian proposal for complete disarmament within four years, and certainly for complete nuclear disarmament.
3. That we should give much greater emphasis to the constructive alternative of a world effort to use the resources and equipment now devoted to armament production for a great plan to end poverty, disease and ignorance everywhere.

## The H-bomb: A canvasser's problems

To the Editor

I SHOULD like to congratulate you on your front page editorial "After the Election" in your October 9 issue. Certainly opposition to war featured nowhere as a major national issue in the election.

Your criticisms of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are particularly just. Possibly Campaign headquarters were breathless after Nuclear Disarmament Week—possibly Campaign headquarters were bewildered and divided over the issues which the actual issue of a General Election provoked—but the fact remains that the main instructions from Campaign Headquarters were that groups should support their nearest parliamentary candidates who favoured unilateral nuclear disarmament on the part of Great Britain. List after list of such candidates were posted to group secretaries, and although the importance of writing letters to newspapers and asking questions at meetings was stressed in Campaign circulars, it became manifest that the sacred bounden task laid on groups was that of supporting unilateralist candidates.

My own group, being Left Wing, was almost in favour of supporting the city's four Labour candidates *en bloc* at the beginning, the argument being that the Labour Party was the only party which could gain power, and which might be persuaded to accept the unilateralist policy. But there were some dissentients, including myself, and in the end it was decided to support the city's two Labour unilateralist candidates, one of whom was a pacifist and the other of whom went so far as to describe himself as the anti-bomb candidate.

Much as I admired these two men, I found the position of supporting them wholeheartedly very embarrassing. What was one to say when canvassing? Was one to say: "I want you to vote for Mr. So-

## April Carter

Secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

*Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player  
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage  
And then is heard no more: it is a tale  
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,  
Signifying nothing.*—Macbeth.

I AM tempted to say that this sums up the election, in which top politicians flickered on to the television screen, and spoke a great many platitudes and lies. This is of course an oversimplification. There were candidates who were sincere and who talked about the H-bomb and HOLA as well as "You've never had it so good" and the "Tory Swindle." There were voters who thought about these issues.

But the evidence suggests that most people who were well off voted Conservative because they associated the Tories with prosperity; and those not so well off voted Labour because they associated them with the struggle against poverty.

It is right to be concerned about one's job, one's home and one's own enjoyment. But it is not right to be exclusively concerned about these, and to forget about Dr. Banda in jail, homeless refugees, or the threat of nuclear extinction.

In the next five years pacifists have to take these issues into people's homes, so that they become as real as personal unemployment or a tragedy next door. Then the next election may be fought on the issues that really matter. How we can bridge the imaginative abyss between Mrs. Brown in Clapham and what happens at North Pickenham or HOLA or Hongkong is a problem we have to solve. How Mrs.

and-So because he disagrees with his Party's policy on the H-bomb." Or was one to say: "The Labour policy on the H-bomb is entirely wrong, and Mr. So-and-So thinks so? And so please vote for him, although he is a Labour candidate." Or was one to say: "Mr. So-and-So is a Labour candidate, and he has the added advantage of disbelieving entirely in Labour's defence policy? And so please vote for him, won't you?"

All these three approaches were obviously dishonest intellectually. Our two unilateralist candidates were first and foremost Labour candidates, and the likes of me in canvassing for them were not only doing the official Labour Party a disservice in that our main concern was to stress the difference between the candidate's policy and official Labour policy, but we were also doing the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament a disservice in that we were identifying the Campaign with a political party which is not committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament on the part of Great Britain.

Now of course the Labour Party has lost the General Election, and now my local CND identifies itself with Labour's defeat, and all connected with it are sunk in gloom.

What is the moral? It is that henceforward the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament should regard the issue of unilateral nuclear disarmament as one which overrides political parties. It is that henceforward the Peace Pledge Union should regard the issue of total disarmament as one which overrides political parties. It is that the issues of peace and war should be regarded as paramount by the peace movements in future elections, and that the interests of particular political parties, however attractive their candidates, should be subordinated to their proper irrelevance.—A. E. SOUTII, 22 Park Grove, Frizinghall, Bradford 9.

Brown, once aroused, can show her concern is another problem. The answers may lie in direct action.

## Canon Collins

Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

1. All three Parties are appealing to the selfish interests of the electors. They give the impression of regarding democracy with cynicism—the lesson to learn is that democracy must be treated with respect, or democracy will perish. By appealing to the baser motives it is possible to evade the issues which really matter, such as the issues of peace and disarmament; but I believe the people will assert their proper rights, and the political Parties and their leaderships will suffer.

2. By a concentrated effort to persuade the leaderships of the Parties to accept the need to put peace issues as a priority in political programmes.

## Leslie Hale, M.P.

Labour Member for Oldham West.

PEACE NEWS has invited me to answer two questions rather prematurely. I would have preferred time to think. In the course of the campaign I addressed 200 street corner, 22 factory gate, and half a dozen indoor meetings. I was not asked a single question about the hydrogen bomb. That may be due to my being known as a pacifist, but I doubt it.

Among colleagues who were defeated one finds Ian Mikardo, Frank Beswick, Henry Osborne, Reg Moss and Jimmy Johnson, respectively associated with Victory for Socialism, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, World Government, War on Want and colonial affairs; Fenner Brockway came perilously near defeat and Michael Foot was decisively beaten. There is no comfort here.

Peace News asks what important lessons I draw from the election. My answer is "None." The figures need careful study and analysis. There are the usual indications that Scotland and Wales are more politically conscious, and this may well be connected with religious teaching. Labour has undoubtedly failed to keep its members politically alerted. No effective substitute has been found for the public meeting. Labour supporters are asked to vote early and then forgotten for five years. Labour has miserably failed too to obtain the interest and co-operation of youth.

The hydrogen bomb was not an issue in Lancashire. The failure of the CND to make an impact is partly due to its failure to make its attitude clear. The way forward is surely by education and not by demonstration.

## Wallace Hancock

Organising Secretary of the No Votes for the Bomb Campaign, and a former Secretary of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

MOST of us who lived through the 1920s and 1930s will be eternally grateful to the Labour Party which in its post-war Government abolished poverty as we knew it in the inter-war years. We regret the present bankruptcy of the Party.

The fact seems to be that from 1945 to 1950 they sold all they had to sell and have nothing more to sell. They decided not to stock idealism. But fortunately an Election cannot be won by a stock consisting of pensions, purchase tax reductions and various shop-soiled odds and ends in the window.

If it is difficult to see the way forward for Labour, it is still more difficult to see the way forward for the peace movement. Pacifism boasts of the "implications" of pacifism, but in reality is merely a personal movement comprised of very saintly folk who strive to live a personal "way of life." At times pacifist organisations make great pretensions of taking an interest in "corporate" politics, but when an Election comes they are "deaf and dumb." Our members either see life at the level of spiritual values and eschew politics, or are committed to the Labour Party and see the

● ON BACK PAGE

By Sybil Morrison

## 'Let it begin with us'

*If it is fear behind the increase in armaments . . . it seems to me that the hope of Peace becomes at once immeasurably stronger. For fear can be removed. Naturally, the process has to begin somewhere. Naturally, also, if everybody waits for someone else to take the first step it will never begin at all. Very well, let it begin with us.—"We Say No." H. R. L. Sheppard.*

I REMEMBER the 16th October, 1934, very clearly because it was then that I read Dick Sheppard's letter, which is reprinted on page six, and knew that there was something for which I had been waiting, and waiting a long time.

Reading the letter again twenty-five years later, and reading again Dick Sheppard's first pacifist book by which he launched his call for signatories to his Pledge, it is strange to find it still relevant and contemporary.

Today it is, perhaps, even more obvious that war is "a crime against humanity" which should "no longer be permitted by civilised people," than it was then. Obliteration bombing and the atom bomb were unknown in 1934, though there is no doubt the mushroom shadow was already throwing its dark and menacing shape across the background of our lives.

The individual commitment to refusal to take part in war stands unaltered as the first step towards total unilateral disarmament; the call to the nation to accept the moral responsibility of setting the example is just as relevant to-day as the day that Dick Sheppard called for it in 1934.

History has repeated itself, in that Khrushchev is now suggesting, as Litvinov did in 1928, total disarmament, and seems to be repeating itself in the derision and suspicion with which those proposals have been greeted by other nations.

★

The tendency to-day, however, is for the present generation to declare that everything is quite different, that there is an entirely new situation, and that entirely new approaches must be made, and new tactics devised and undertaken.

It is, nevertheless, an inescapable fact that this idea is common to every generation, and that there is very little new in the world other than personal experience, which is always new, in that it always differs from any other personal experience. No one person's experience is ever completely a replica of another's, but situations and actions are very often repeated.

Nuclear weapons have made the element of fear more widespread, but the very horror that is inherent in them has tended to numb the feelings and induce an ostrich-like attitude of head burying. It is clearly easier for the majority of people not to think about it, let alone talk about it.

It is sometimes quite startling to find that the ordinary person who does not know the pacifist case is almost always immensely angry, when he hears it, and it is hard to induce those angry people to understand that the one thing that is different to-day, and moreover completely out-moded, is their conception of a war which will defend "freedom" and "one's own country."

The answer to Khrushchev ought to have been: "Let it begin with us," but most people are still wallowing in past beliefs and out-dated conceptions. Labour, had they adopted this slogan, might still have gone down before the Conservatives, but they would have scored up a splendid defeat. Moreover, the ashes of that defeat would not have been grey and dead, but glowing and ready to be kindled again into "the flame in the belly" that was so significantly and miserably missing from their campaign.

It is doubtful if Mr. Gaitskill will take advice from this column, and I need hardly exhort my fellow pacifists to adopt the slogan, since they already have it in their hearts. Nevertheless, it must be faced, that it is the pacifists alone who are left to make that challenge which is the direct and logical consequence of Dick Sheppard's original call: "WAR—WE SAY NO."

## 25 YEARS AGO

Twenty-five years ago today a letter appeared in the *British Press* which was to astound the writer by the response it secured and to result in one of the greatest peace campaigns of the century, the collecting within a year of 100,000 signatures to Dick Sheppard's peace pledge and the founding the following year of the Peace Pledge Union.

This is the letter to which newspaper readers responded in their thousands on and after October 16, 1934:

**T**HE main reason for this letter, primarily addressed to men, is the fresh urgency of the present international situation, and the almost universally acknowledged lunacy of the manner in which nations are pursuing peace.

The situation is far graver than we allow ourselves to acknowledge, and the risks we are running by our present methods far graver than those which a more enlightened policy would involve.

Up to now the Peace Movement has received its main support from women, but it seems high time now that men should throw their weight into the scales against war.

I represent no Church and no peace organisation of any description, but merely, I suggest, the mentality to which the average man has recently arrived without, as it seems, the knowledge of his accredited leaders in Church and State, or, for that matter, without their assistance.

It seems essential to discover whether or not it be true, as we are told, that the majority of thoughtful men in this country are now convinced that war of every kind or for any cause, is not only a denial of Christianity, but a crime against humanity, which is no longer to be permitted by civilised people.

★

Have we reached that state of belief? I believe that we have, but I am certain that the time has come when we must know if that is a false or true statement.

The idea behind this letter is not to form any fresh organisation, nor to call pacifists together to abuse those who conscientiously are not able to agree with them, but to attempt to discover how strong the will to peace has grown.

For myself, I believe that a vast number of male citizens who do not belong to any peace society and even dislike some of the methods of those who do, are only waiting an opportunity to declare once and for all that they have done with wars of every kind.

Many persons are avowing their determination not to use violence, not only between nations, but within the nations.

An ever-increasing dependence on excessive force is evident in the movements known as Communism and Fascism.

It is time that those men who have not hitherto acted in any public way, but who wish the repudiation of methods of violence, should come into the open.

Would those of my sex who, so far, have been silent, send a postcard to me within the next fortnight to say if they are willing to be called together in the near future to vote in support of a resolution as uncompromising as the following:

"We renounce war and never again, directly or indirectly, will we support or sanction another."

If the response to this letter be as large as conceivably it may be, a notice will be sent at the earliest possible moment with full particulars of the day and date on which the demonstration will be made.

## To help the refugees

World Refugee Year is now supported by 62 countries. Recent additions to the list of participants include Cambodia, Laos, Liberia, Panama and Thailand.

# NEED DISARMAMENT CAUSE UNEMPLOYMENT?

By H. D. Dickinson

Professor of Economics at the University of Bristol.

ONE often hears the question "If Britain disarmed, wouldn't there be a terrible lot of unemployment?"

Of course, if the 1958 expenditure on military and civil defence (£1,560,000,000: eight and a half per cent of the national income, 20 per cent of total public—central and local government—expenditure) was all cut off at one week-end, there would be great economic confusion and, at least temporarily, much unemployment. But our experience at the end of both world wars, in 1918 and in 1945, was that the sudden switching off of even quite a large part of the military machine could be effected without causing unemployment. The reason is that a large number of civilian needs, previously unsatisfied because of war-time priorities and controls, became manifest, and absorbed the labour released from war production.

## Tackling the problem

The problem of maintaining employment must be tackled in two ways, quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitatively, we must ensure that the community's total money demand is kept up—that the money which is no longer spent on preparation for war is spent on other (and useful) things. This will maintain the aggregate demand for labour at the pre-disarmament level. Qualitatively, we must ensure that the nature of the demand for labour, in the aggregate, is not changed too abruptly. You cannot, within a couple of days, switch a man from welding aircraft to putting the twiddles on chocolate creams.

In terms of money the problem is easy. We could remit £1,560,000,000 of taxation (more than half of all taxes on income and profits or the whole of purchase tax and the taxes on tobacco and oil). If people either spent or invested the money previously taken from them, then their demand would take the place of the Government's

## Niemoeller case quashed

**T**HE current issue of "Non-violence" carries an important article examining Western pacifism from the pen of an Australian, Kenneth Rivett.

This provides a valuable contribution to the discussion arising out of the action at the Swaffham rocket base last year, and is yet another indication that this publication is "must" reading for everyone interested in non-violent direct action.

Hilda von Klenze, who compiles this stimulating little bulletin, presents some extracts from the material now coming out of the University of Michigan where research related to war and peace is being undertaken.

## "Fully justified"

"News from Abroad" includes the remarkable explanation from the German Attorney General regarding the quashing of proceedings against Dr. Niemöller, President of the German section of the War Resisters' International, who had said that "military training . . . is a kind of university education for professional criminals."

The A.G. said:

"The defendant spoke as a clergyman and as president of an organisation which aims to serve the public through the advocacy of absolute non-violence in the relationships between nations. In this dual capacity he appealed to the public to become aware of the—in his opinion—menacing character of present-day political developments, and to remember the true mission of Jesus Christ. It can hardly be denied that he was fully justified in bringing his concern before the public. The defendant not only holds a particular position in public life as a high ecclesiastical dignitary, by virtue of his witness under the national-socialist regime and as a leading pacifist he is also regarded by a great many people as peculiarly qualified to comment on any events which concern public life."

\* Published bi-monthly. 6d. from the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

demand. (To the extent that they spent their money on durable goods like cars and refrigerators or that they lent their money to companies that wanted to increase their equipment of machinery, the labour that would be demanded would be very much the same as that demanded by the war-machine.)

But some people might neither spend nor invest the money left in their pockets by the remission of taxation: they might just let it lie idle, thus reducing the volume of effective demand. The government could guarantee the effective use of the money if, instead of remitting taxation, it continued to spend the money, but on peaceful instead of warlike objects. For example, with £1,560,000,000 it could increase by 50 per cent the total expenditure on social services (national insurance and pensions, education and child welfare, health services).

A middle course would be to combine these two policies: a smaller remission of taxation than in the first case and a smaller increase in non-military expenditure than in the second case.

## Spending on peace

A sample programme might be:	
Tax remission	£m.
10 per cent off taxes on income and profits, death duties, etc. . . . .	290
20 per cent off National Insurance contributions . . . . .	172
25 per cent off Purchase Tax . . . . .	123
15 per cent off tax on hydrocarbon oils . . . . .	51
20 per cent off local rates . . . . .	129
	765
Increased expenditure on peace aims	
1 per cent of National Income for aid to underdeveloped countries . . . . .	182
25 per cent increase in expenditure on education and child welfare . . . . .	196
10 per cent increase in expenditure on health services . . . . .	70
15 per cent increase in National Insurance and Pensions, Family Allowances, etc. . . . .	201
Increased expenditure on scientific, industrial and medical research . . . . .	96
Capital expenditure on nationalised industries . . . . .	50
	795
Sum of these two: £1,560,000,000.	

The qualitative problem is more difficult. As just remarked, some of the money restored to the tax-payer might be spent, or invested, in ways that would demand much the same sort of labour as was previously employed on defence. (It is a mistake to assume that all the money spent on defence is spent on "ironmongery"—much of it goes on the food, clothing, etc., of the armed forces, on building barracks, arms factories, etc. It is not all that different from civilian demand.) But much of it would go on other things—chocolate creams instead of aircraft. Increased expenditure on scientific and industrial research and capital expenditure on nationalised industries (railways, electricity plants, etc.) would help to redress the balance.

## Gradual change

It would probably be necessary to make the transition gradually, while labour could be retained for new jobs. In five years, the normal turnover of labour could bring about big changes in the composition of the nation's labour force. In the meanwhile, it might be necessary to continue the production of goods similar to armaments simply in order to keep men in work: i.e., civil instead of military aircraft, heavy machine tools instead of guns, radio and TV instead of radar equipment. This might involve the production of many goods at a loss, entailing rather complicated controls, subsidies, etc.; but they would be transitional measures.

It is probable that the diversion of labour used unproductively on armaments to the satisfaction of human needs would in time bring about a rise in the real national income so that either more taxation could be remitted or more government expenditure incurred for socially useful purposes.

The answer to the original question is that disarmament need not cause unemployment, provided (a) that total money demand for goods and services is maintained, (b) that the transition from production for war to production for peace is not too sudden, and (c) that there is some kind of rational economic planning during the transition period.

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- ★ There are delightful 'racial friendship' designs, cards in many languages, lovely full-colour designs, quotations from Gandhi, Anne Frank, Laurence Housman, and many others, a variety to please all ages and most tastes.
- ★ In addition our List includes a large new assortment of sensible and moderately priced gifts, the **PEACE DIARY for 1960**, which contains more valuable information, the **FRIENDSHIP CALENDAR**, and **HOUSMANS** list of selected book gifts for all ages.

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### MEETINGS

"KEEPING FIT IN LONDON"—Ann Cornock-Taylor, Bagnall Goodwin, Morris Muirhead, Caxton Hall, Monday, 19th October, 7.30 p.m. London Natural Health Society. Details: 70B Coniston Road, N.10.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION. — A Biologist's Approach. Speaker, Anna M. Bidder. Sunday, Nov. 1, at 6.30 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

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LONDON: 7 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

# THE TORY VOTE CAN'T STOP COLONIAL FREEDOM

By Fenner Brockway, MP Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



THE Tory victory in Britain has caused more disappointment in the colonies and the newly-independent countries than anywhere else. In the territories where critical decisions have soon to be made it has caused dismay.

We have let down Nyasaland and Central Africa. We have let down Kenya and Tanganyika. We have let down Malta and Cyprus. We have broken hopes all through Africa and Asia and the Caribbean islands and their outposts on the American mainland. From all these lands I had letters and cables praying for a Labour victory.

The reason for Labour's defeat was the comparative prosperity in Britain. A year ago when unemployment was increasing the Tories would have been defeated. We still have unemployment in a few areas. There Labour won. But for most people there is some truth in the Tory claim that we've never had it so good.

Take my own constituency, Eton and Slough, as an example. Eton College, the school of our governing class, and its hangers-on around are traditionally Tory; but Slough is an industrial town traditionally Labour. Yet I won only by 88 votes.

## The colour issue

The explanation? We have no unemployment in Slough, many wives work in the factories as well as the men so that family incomes are high, and cut-throat competition to capture the expanding population has made prices in the High Street the lowest in the South of England. Half the people of Slough were content with a Tory Government.

Let me be frank with my African and colonial friends. One of the things that told against me in Slough and against labour candidates elsewhere was coloured immigration. We have many West Indians, a number of Indians, a few Africans in my constituency. There is little resentment against them on the ground of colour, but I found a lot on the ground of housing, which is desperately short in Slough. My Tory opponent made a lot of this and advocated restriction of immigration into the town. I said at my public meetings I would rather lose the election than compromise on the colour issue. I nearly did!

There are important lessons for my colonial friends. Most people vote on the issues which they feel are closest to them: this tendency has, I fear, been increased of late in Britain because the motive of personal gain rather than service has grown. The election was won by the Tories, despite Hola, Nyasaland, Suez, Cyprus, Malta and even the H-bomb, because of a sense of domestic well-being.

Only a limited number of people put

international and colonial issues first. Perhaps many intellectuals did. It was very significant that newspapers like The Observer and Spectator (which were established as Tory), and the Guardian (Liberal) advised readers to vote Labour rather than Tory. But the mass of people voted on immediate material, not on distant moral issues. We need a spiritual emancipation to change that. Our Labour Party must preach incessantly the ethical values which inspired our early Socialism.

The first implication of this should be appreciated by my colonial friends. Britain governs 50,000,000 people at home, 80,000,000 in the colonies. If when we vote we are thinking mostly of our home problems we have no claim to hold in our hands the destinies of peoples overseas. Colonialism has no moral authority.

The second lesson to be learned from the election follows logically from this. The colonial peoples must depend primarily on themselves. They must depend on their own faith, their own strength, their own organisation, their political wisdom. I emphasise political wisdom.

## No place for violence

Don't let the result of the election in Britain cause colonial peoples to despair. The Tories cannot hold back History, and historical evolution makes the victory of the cause of national freedom inevitable. This should give all colonial peoples confidence and dignity. However strong the imperialists may seem in some territories, their power can be only for a time. There is no place for futile conspiracy or violence: that will only strengthen imperial rule. We have reached a stage where reason and the proof of constructive capacity will win through.

There are some territories where disappointment will be specially deep. Dr. Banda and his Nyasaland colleagues in Gwelo prison must have lost hope for a moment. In many homes in Central Africa there must have been sorrow, especially as they read the rejoicings of the die-hards among the White settlers. In Kenya the more irreconcilable Europeans will have toasted the Tory victory boisterously in the

hotel bars of Nairobi. Julius Nyerere in Tanganyika will have been concerned as to whether he will now be allowed his African majority in the Legislature.

There is a little island in the Mediterranean to which my mind went when a renewal of the Tory Government became certain. In Malta all democracy has been destroyed. The Legislature is dissolved. The British Governor rules by decree. I had an encouraging message from Dom Mintoff, the brave leader of the Labour Party and the Freedom Movement in Malta, during the election. I wish I could send him a more encouraging reply.

## Elements of hope

But there are three elements of hope.

Our team of anti-colonial stalwarts in the House of Commons is unhurt. Barbara Castle, John Stonehouse, John Dugdale, Leslie Hale, Kenneth Robinson, Wedgwood Benn, Stan Awbery, Stephen Swingle, Harold Davies, Bob Edwards, Jennie Lee, Charles Royle are all with us. I am very sorry we have lost Lena Jeger, who was so outspoken on Cyprus, though we have gained Judith Hart, a notable champion of national freedoms. On the Front Bench we have Jim Callaghan, though we shall miss Arthur Bottomley. Jo Grimond and his Liberals, good on colonial questions, will be on the Benches with the authority of a larger Liberal vote.

I find still greater hope internationally. I find it in the growing solidarity in Africa and particularly in the help which the independent Governments, led by Ghana, are giving. Next year they will be strengthened by the mighty influence of Nigeria.

I find hope in the Afro-Asian Group in the United Nations and the support which the delegations of many other countries are giving them. I applaud their efforts on behalf of Algeria, their protest against the French bomb test in the Sahara, their persistent work on South Africa. I ask them to be alert to extend their activities. I plead with them immediately to voice the claims of Malta.

My friends, there is no need to be downhearted. The Tory victory in Britain cannot stop our irresistible progress to national freedom and human equality. We clasp the hand of History and are of good cheer.

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## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.  
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, October 16 — Sunday, October 18

RUGLEY, Staffs: Week-end Conference: Spode Ho., Hawkeyard Priory. "Problems of Peace Today." Fee: 2 gns. Details: The Warden at above address.

Saturday, October 17

LEEDS: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Ln. AGM of N.E. Regional Board for COs.

LEEDS 2: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Carlton Hill. Film show & Dance. Refreshment tkt. 2s. 6d. Proceeds—refugees. SoF.

LONDON, N.W.1: 2.30 p.m.—8 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. Film Viewing Session of new films for peace propaganda, also exhibitions. Adm. 1s. 6d., tea 3s. (s.a.c. please) from Friends Peace Committee at above address. SoF.

Saturday, October 17 — Sunday, October 18

DORKING, Surrey: Autumn Conference at Beatrice Webb Ho., Holmby St. Mary. "China, India & Co-Existence, & Peace & Security in Laos & Vietnam." Details: The General Sec., National Peace Council, 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1. NPC.

Sunday, October 18

LONDON, W.1: 3 p.m. Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park. Harry Marsh. PPU.

Monday, October 19

CAMBRIDGE: 8.15 p.m. Mill Ln. Lecture Room. "The Christian & War." Rev. Canon C. E. Raven. FoR.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m. refreshments. 6.30 p.m. Current Affairs: "Post Election Survey." Allen Skinner. Central London PPU.

SMETHWICK: 7.45 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, High St. "Children of Hiroshima" (X). Adm. free. FoR.

Wednesday, October 21

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Lower Fore St. Group Mtg. PPU.

LONDON, S.W.4: 7.45 p.m. 27 Clapham Pk. Rd. Speaker: Pat Arrowsmith. PPU.

REIGATE: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Reigate Rd. "The Cross & the Bomb." Rev. E. Carpenter, Rev. B. E. Woods. Chair: H. J. Ball. FoR.

YEOVIL: 7.15 p.m. 37 Preston Rd. "Walking with Vinoba Bhawe." Donald Groom. FoR.

Thursday, October 22

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. 47 Netherhall Gdns. (Flat 7). "Germany Today & Tomorrow." Hilda Klenze. PPU.

Saturday, October 24

RUGBY: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Regent Place. "Peace Making—A World View." Arlo Tatum. Tea—book & gift stall. PPU.

Sunday, October 25

LONDON, W.1: 3 p.m. Speakers' Corner, Hyde Pk. Sybil Morrison and Myrtle Solomon. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse Evelyn Savage "The Meaning of Pacifism." PPU Religion Commission.

Tuesday, October 27

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Film show. Douglas Clarke. All PPU members welcome.

Wednesday, October 28

LEIGH, Lancs.: 7.30 p.m. Church Institute, Henrietta St. Public Mtg. Rev. J. Vincent, Dr. E. L. Seyd. Chair: The Vicar. CND.

Saturday, November 7 — Sunday, November 8

MATLOCK, Derbys: "The Briars." Vegetarian Guest Ho., Crich Conference — "Penal Practice in a Changing Society — Past, Present & Future." Speaker: Frank Dawtry. Details: Miss E. Cullingworth, 81 Clarendon Pk. Rd., Leicester. PPU.

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## CAMPAIGN CORNER

### After the Election

THE British Election results mean a busy time ahead on a tough assignment for peace workers in this country.

We have to persuade an electorate which has returned Mr. Macmillan with increased authority that unilateral disarmament is the only policy at once hopeful, moral and practical.

But Peace News readers can draw considerable encouragement from the new political situation. Labour locked in an "agonising re-appraisal," the Liberals proclaiming a new Radicalism and focussing attention on nuclear weapons and world poverty, the Conservatives committed to top level international talks, plus a general awareness that real issues received all too little electoral attention. All these considerations point to new opportunities for presenting new policies based on principles.

Peace News, too, will be re-considering its tasks, exploring and encouraging new, imagination-stirring forms of peace witness and education, re-examining the strategy of our campaigning, seeking new ways of re-presenting those eternal verities which have now become pre-requisites of human survival.

We shall need your most devoted backing in the coming months. The "never had it so good" outlook must not pervade the peace movement too. This is the time to redouble our activities for peace, and for Peace News.

Distribute, street-sell, pass round and recommend the paper wherever you can. We will gladly send suggestions and supplies. H.F.M.

### Christians and nuclear weapons

From Freda Nuell.

A ONE-DAY conference was held on September 23, under the joint auspices of Christian Action and the Society of Friends Peace Committee, at St. Paul's Chapter House. The aim was to afford opportunity for free discussion about what should be the proper Christian attitude towards nuclear weapons.

In opening speeches, Professor Butterfield (Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge), Canon Edward Carpenter, Archbishop Roberts, SJ, and Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard made outstanding contributions to the very worth while discussion.

Discussion ranged widely and included almost every point of view from the full pacifist to believing the bomb to be the choice of the lesser of two evils.

### AFTER THE ELECTION . . .

A meeting for all Peace News readers, supporters and sellers at Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1 (nr. King's Cross), Friday, October 30, 6.30-8 p.m. Alan Lovell (Assistant Editor, Peace News):

### Where do we go from here?

Published by Peace News Ltd., 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1, and printed in Gt. Britain by Fish & Cook Ltd., 135 Fonthill Rd., London, N.4.

# LESSONS FROM THE ELECTION

● FROM PAGE FIVE

non-nuclear club as one of the stations to the Kingdom of God.

If pacifists want to "meddle in politics" they must make up their minds whether they will form some sort of political-pacifist grouping or compromise and accept the Labour Party as its political "wing."

After 40 years in pacifist organisations my guess is that we shall sit on the fence and do nothing.

### Ron Huzzard

Member of the National Council of the Labour Peace Fellowship.

DURING the past five years the Conservatives have been responsible for the Suez war, the Jordan landings, Hola, Cyprus and Nyasaland. They have chained Britain to the suicide strategy of the H-bomb. Reliance on violence has been on the increase. The major task in the Election for peace workers should have been to secure the defeat of the Tories.

The electorate have, however, voted them back with a huge majority. It is a terrible situation.

No major party is either 100 per cent pacifist or fully in favour of unilateral disarmament, but Labour on most peace and colonial issues, except unilateral abandonment of the H-bomb, had a policy worthy of our support. All pacifists and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament campaigners should have been actively working for Labour victories, particularly in marginal seats.

It is difficult to see what effect all the CND activities have had. If there is a growing protest movement against nuclear weapons there ought to have been Tory defeats and reduced majorities, for all Tory candidates were 100 per cent again nuclear disarmament.

All who advocated the "Voters' Veto" and political neutrality bear some responsibility for the anti-Labour trend which has given the Tories a majority of 100 MPs with only a 1.6 per cent swing.

In the new Parliament all the pacifists and CND supporters will again be Labour MPs. In the Labour Party and the Trade Unions the debate on the H-bomb will go on. The demand for unilateral action will be pressed. The differences between Labour and the Tories cannot be ignored.

I personally wish that Labour had given greater prominence to disarmament and publicised more its plan for aiding underdeveloped countries. The increased Liberal vote may indicate that there is support for a bolder policy. There is, however, no real evidence that more voters would have responded.

The real lesson of this election for the peace movement is the enormity of our task. Half the nation seems to have no social conscience. This is the major problem.

### Stuart Morris

General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

HAD the Labour Party really advocated socialism in its domestic and foreign policy, it might well have lost even more seats last week, but it would have been on the road to subsequent victory. As it is, the result disappointed any hopes of a Labour victory in 1959 and in the foreseeable future.

For the Labour Party in defeat the result of the inevitable inquest might be a split making possible an alignment of Liberals and one section of the Labour Party, leaving the other section to develop a much more radical socialist policy. For the Conservative Party in victory one result may be that the Prime Minister will go to the Summit Conference encouraged to seek some measure of disarmament and some new basis for co-existence. Nevertheless,

neither his policy, nor that of any Liberal-Labour co-operation, nor of an even more radical socialist Party is likely to abandon the insistence on inspection and control and the reliance on armed force—necessary conditions for the achievement of total disarmament or for successful negotiations.

Although pacifism played little part in the Election, it remains the only realistic alternative to the existing policies of all Parties. The Election has few lessons to teach the peace movement, because pacifists are not concerned with changing the policy of a government, still more strongly entrenched in office, except by changing the opinions of individuals who have not been ready to run the risk of total unconditioned disarmament.

The fact that mass propaganda, such as large circulation newspapers, radio and television, seem to have had little influence on the electorate compared with meetings and election addresses, should encourage pacifists not to despise well-tried methods.

### Max Parker

General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

1. The unpleasant lesson that the election campaign has taught is that the appeal to the voters' natural selfishness can be successful, and that foreign relationships means almost nothing. "I'm alright, Jack," or "I hope to be alright, Jack," is very much the order of the day. The immorality of past governmental decisions weighs not at all; the vote shows that the rally to the Tories was bigger. Is the a-morality of politics developing? TV, radio and press publicity seems to have had less effect than expected. It might be hopeful if that resistance was deliberate; far more likely that it was a dull resignation to things as they are and "they've never been so good, Jack, so—why change?"

2. To the peace movement this means more support for the "peace-through-threats-of-violence school" which exists (and justifies its existence) in every section of our national life. The teachers are almost beyond hope. The scholars still have slightly uneasy consciences. Our work lies there, patient, persistent and personal work. Public witness has its place, but neither Billy Graham nor the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is the hope of the world. The hope is to convert and to commit these scholars to a radically different way of life and no half measures: total personal commitment to total peace, and peacemaking. This may seem slow, but it builds the sound foundations of peace. To do our work effectively each member must play his part, and that requires better knowledge, study, discipline. Fit? Right, let's get down to the job.

### Emrys Roberts

Plaid Cymru (Welsh Party) candidate for Cardiff North.

THE result of the Election is not a vote of confidence in the Conservatives, but one of no confidence in the Labour Party. One reason for this is that Labour failed to provide a lead on the question of nuclear disarmament and many votes were lost to the Liberals because Liberal policy in this matter is slightly more advanced.

We need now a new radicalism to oppose the Conservatives—not the centralised bureaucracy of the Labour Party nor the vagueness of the Liberals, but a regard for the right of the individual and the local and national community to play a far greater part in controlling their lives, by applying the principle of co-operation to politics, industry and all other aspects of social life.

In Wales this will be provided by Plaid Cymru (Welsh nationalists) which will grow rapidly now that Labour supporters see little hope of ousting the Tories whilst we remain tied to England. It is more difficult to see where the new radicalism in England will come from.

The duty of those concerned for international peace is to realise that it is not an isolated problem, but that war is the natural outcome of any type of centralised power politics. The only hope is to work for an effective expression of this new radicalism, so that the alternative to the Tories will not be a Party offering another form of centralised power, but one offering its diffusion and the encouragement of responsibility and co-operation at all levels.

### Eric Tucker

Secretary of the Friends' Peace Committee (Quakers).

THE tragic aspect of the General Election is the success of the appeal to self-interest. "You've never had it so good" won the Election for the Tories. The claims of the people of the under-developed areas of the world or even of the old-age pensioners at home received scant attention in Tory publicity, and aroused no interest in the minds of half the electorate.

The task facing the peace movement is likely to be harder and more frustrating as a result of the Conservative victory. Once again in this Election, as in others, international issues made little impact. Somehow or other they must be made live issues. There is a major task of education to be done in this field in the next five years. The struggle for the rights of native peoples in Africa will be more prolonged but must be prosecuted with vigour. The call to men and women to make sacrifices for peace must be deepened morally and spiritually.

Finally, in 1964 there must be no splitting of the progressive vote. The independent candidates have done no service to peace. Nor have the advocates of the "Voters' Veto." If we are to avoid another five years of Tory rule in 1964 there must be no nonsense of this sort. The first job then will be to get the Tories out. The second job, then and now, is to inspire the Labour Party with the vision and enthusiasm which the peace movement, if it will, can provide.

### Berek Walker

General Secretary of the Fellowship Party.

FOR me the first lesson of this Election has been that the peace movement is spineless and gutless—a disembodied phantom, contemplating the excellence of its own intentions. It has failed to seize what could be the last opportunity of putting the case for pacifism to hundreds of thousands of people, and of making unilateral disarmament a national issue.

In Woolwich West, Ron Mallone, the Fellowship Party candidate, stood unequivocally for unilateral total disarmament. He had the consistent help of a dozen people, and about another dozen helped occasionally. His election address, with its straightforward pacifist message, went into every home, but there were enough canvassers to cover only about a tenth of the constituency. Of the electors who were ready to talk, at least one in three was sympathetic by the end of the discussion.

Ron Mallone got 1,189 votes (two and a half per cent)—much to the surprise of his opponents. If he had had 50 helpers he would most certainly have saved his deposit. But only two or three turned out to work, and a few good friends sent money—that was all the support he had from the combined forces of the peace movement and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The peace movement had the manpower and the money to put 30 candidates in the field and change the face of British politics. Only the will was lacking. New opportunities may come in by-elections, and those who have the will must be ready to seize these opportunities. Ron Mallone's campaign has revealed the possibilities.

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Payment due ...	£	:	:
<b>TOTAL REMITTANCE ENCLOSED</b> ...	£	:	:

★ IF THIS ORDER IS URGENT fill in here  
latest date by which it is required.

## TERMS AND DISCOUNTS

### POSTAGE

Free on Christmas Cards; other items please add postage as in brackets after the price.  
**BUT ALL ORDERS OVER £2 WILL BE SENT POST FREE**

### PAYMENT

Please enclose a remittance, made payable to Endsleigh Cards, with your order (unless you have an account). A single payment may be sent to cover all purchases from this list. Payment for overseas orders may be sent by cheque or International Money Order. All accounts must be paid before Christmas.

### DISCOUNTS

We regret no discount can be allowed on HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP List.

**For Bazaars and Bulk Orders:** CHRISTMAS CARDS: 25% discount on orders for two gross (288) or more assorted cards from pages 2—4. Cards must be ordered in dozens. GIFTS AND STATIONERY: 12½% discount on 3 dozen or more assorted items.

**PLEASE GIVE THE DATE OF YOUR BAZAAR IN THE PANEL ABOVE**

**For Individually Selected Orders:** Christmas Cards ONLY (pages 2—4): Orders totalling £1 and over, deduct 2s. 6d. in the £; £5 and over 3s. 3d. in the £; £10 and over 4s. in the £; £20 and over 5s. in the £.

### OVERPRINTING YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS

Two dozen or more of any design can be overprinted at a cost of 8s. 6d. extra for the first two dozen and 3s. for each further dozen or 25s. for 100. Please write your order separately from this Order Form, printing your name(s) and address in BLOCK CAPITALS. Orders up to November 30th only.

### SUBSTITUTES

Should any design or gift be sold out we will substitute the nearest available.

**HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP ★ ENDSLEIGH CARDS**  
**5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N.I.** (TERminus 8248)

*Personal shoppers are welcomed at our new Central London bookshop where a larger selection is available. Five minutes from Kings Cross Station.*



## ENDSLEIGH



# HOUSMANS

*Christmas Cards*  
*Books and Gifts for 1959*

## LIST AND ORDER FORM

- ★ **Original and lovely Christmas Greetings Cards that convey the true spirit of the season. Large and widely varied range from 2d. to 9d. each.**
- ★ **Tasteful and inexpensive Gifts for everyone.**
  - ★ **Christmas Gift Dressings and Stationery.**
  - ★ **Peace Diary and Friendship Calendar.**
  - ★ **Book Gifts selected for all ages.**
- ★ ***Fund-raising Discounts for Bazaars and orders over £1.***



**All proceeds from your purchases off this list are devoted to the work of PEACE NEWS for peace and world goodwill.**



# List and Order Form

Please fill in your requirements on the list below (Christmas Cards, pages 2—4; Gifts and Stationery, page 7; Books, pages 5—6), and make sure to insert your name and address, with a summary of your payment, on page eight.

**SAMPLE SETS**, as below, provide a well-varied selection for personal use and an excellent basis for collecting orders. Please show them to your friends, at your church, your place of work and elsewhere. Substantial sums may be raised for good causes through the sale of Endsleigh Cards (terms on page 8). Every order provides much needed funds for our work.

.....	COMPLETE SAMPLE SETS LATEST DESIGNS, 38 cards and envelopes as listed on pages 2—3, with specimen Floral Card and Painting Card (\$2) 12s. 6d.	£	:	:
.....	TRIAL PACKET OF LATEST DESIGNS, 9 cards and envelopes, assorted from each price range (pages 2—3), with specimens as above (50 cents.) 3s. 6d.	£	:	:
.....	FULL RANGE LATEST AND STOCK DESIGNS, 70 cards and envelopes as listed pages 2—4, with specimens as above (\$3) 20s.	£	:	:
.....	BARGAIN PARCELS, for Bazaars, etc., 100 assorted attractive cards and envelopes, ends of 3d. to 8d. ranges. Cannot be divided, no discount. (\$1.75) 10s. 6d.	£	:	:
.....	EXTRA COPIES OF THIS LIST—free (one enclosed with each despatch).			

## Christmas Greeting Cards-Latest Designs

All double cards with envelopes. The references in the left-hand column below are on the backs of the cards. Where quotations are included a brief excerpt is given.

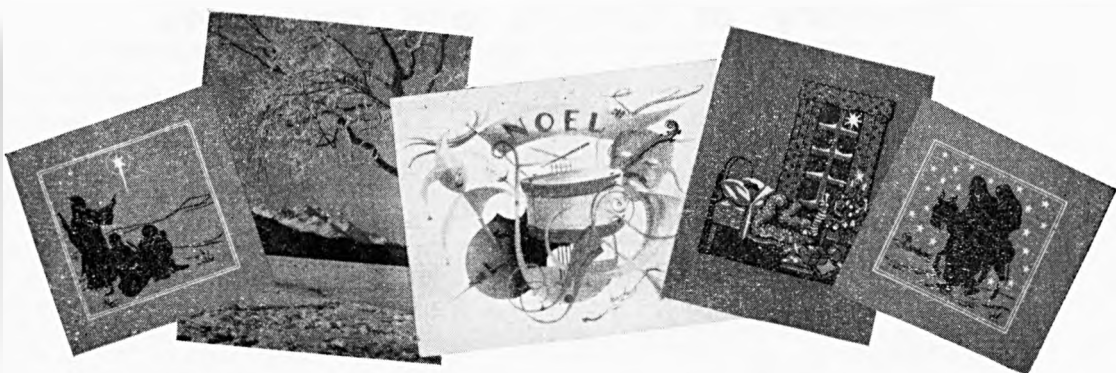
*N. American Prices: Add one to price in pence ("d") and read as cents.*

.....DJ 30	PEACE ON EARTH, striking full-colour many languages design; extra large card, Andrew Marvell quotation 9d.	£	:	:
.....DJ 29	MUSIC AND DRAMA, ingenious full-colour motif, "If music be the food of love . . .", Shakespeare 6d.	£	:	:
.....DJ 31	FESTIVE SCENE, gay, original presentation in full-colour, "Blest be that spot . . .", Goldsmith 6d.	£	:	:
.....PC 2	STAR GAZERS, most appealing international design in full-colour 6d.	£	:	:
.....PC 1	FIVE CHILDREN KNEELING, outstandingly popular international full-colour card which sold out early last year 6d.	£	:	:
.....MA 7	CHILDREN ROUND THE BABE, lovely Nativity scene with children of many nations, "In Christ . . . no East or West . . .", Oxenham 6d.	£	:	:
.....Pkts.	CHRISTMAS BIRDS AND BEASTS, six widely appealing full-colour designs of the traditional Christmas creatures. One of each, with envelopes, in cellophane pack (50 cents) 3s.	£	:	:

*or available separately as follows*

.....MA 24 ROBIN	.....MA 25 Ox AND ASS	.....MA 26 SHEEP AND LAMBS		
.....MA 27 COCK	.....MA 28 CAMELS	.....MA 29 REINDEER	each 6d.	£ : :
.....MA 17	DECORATING THE TREE, international tall card in five colours and nine languages (including Welsh and Esperanto), "May goodwill and joy abound . . ."		5d.	£ : :
.....ET 4	SWISS MOUNTAIN SCENE, lovely snow-scape photograph, quotation from "The Diary of Anne Frank"		5d.	£ : :





*Brought forward from page two* £ : :

.....NH 1	SANTA CLAUS AT NOTTING HILL, lovely racial friendship photograph	5d.	£	:	:
.....DH 1	BLACK NOTES AND WHITE NOTES, ever-popular photograph of two children at a piano, with Dr. Aggrey quotation	5d.	£	:	:
.....NDJ 1	MADONNA AND CHILD, beautiful two-colour design	5d.	£	:	:
.....Pkts.	CHRISTMAS FLOWERS AND BERRIES, six delightful water colour reproductions, full-colour, introduced last year. One of each, with envelopes, in cellophane pack	2s.	£	:	:

*or available separately as follows*

.....MAF 1	CHRISTMAS ROSE	.....MAF 2	WINTER ACONITE	.....MAF 3	
.....SNOWDROPS	.....MAF 4	HIPS AND HAWS	.....MAF 5	WINTER JASMIN	
.....MAF 6	HOLLY AND MISLETOE			each	4d.
.....KT 1	JOSEPH AND MARY, "Let peace fill your heart . . ."				3d.
.....KT 2	SHEPHERDS AND THE STAR, "Light looked down . . ."				3d.
	Laurence Housman				3d.
.....KT 3	THE LITTLE CHRISTMAS TREE, charming design				3d.
.....KT 4	CYCLAMEN AND EVERGREENS, flowerpiece in black and white				3d.
.....DJ 27	WESTMINSTER AND THE THAMES, "I have no weapon but love . . .", M. K. Gandhi				3d.
.....DJ 28	VILLAGE CHURCH, "All mankind are my friends . . .", Thomas Traherne				3d.
.....MA 18	INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN AND THE INFANT, "Joyous peace, goodwill to men . . .", greetings in five languages				3d.
.....MA 19	WISE MEN AND STAR, "Love shall be our token . . ."				3d.
	Christina Rosetti				3d.
.....MA 20	LEAVING BETHLEHEM, "O Christ the peace of all men's hearts . . .", anon				3d.
.....MA 21	STABLE WINDOW, "New born and newly dear . . .", Alice Meynell				3d.
.....MA 22	SHEPHERDS AND SHEEP, "With peace on earth, goodwill to men . . .", Longfellow				3d.
.....MA 23	CHRISTMAS DREAMS				3d.

**MINIATURE CARDS**—to enclose with gifts or send as greetings cards.

.....DJ 21	NOEL, MUSICAL MOTIF, "Music . . . all mankind . . ."	2d.	£	:	:
.....HW 3	LEAPING DEER, "Peace and Love are good things"	2d.	£	:	:
.....MA 5	LANTERN-LIT MANGER, ". . . the song . . . is new . . ."	2d.	£	:	:
.....MA 6	THE WAITS, "Good Tidings we bring . . ."	2d.	£	:	:
.....MA 12	CRIB SCENE	2d.	£	:	:
.....JJ 24	STAR OF WONDER, "Great little one . . ." Crashaw	2d.	£	:	:
.....KT 5	"LET THERE BE PEACE ON EARTH . . .", illuminated quotation with calendar for 1960 on inside pages	2d.	£	:	:

*All 2d. and 3d. cards can be supplied in packets of 12, with envelopes, to sell at 2s. and 3s. respectively.*



## Endsleigh Dainting Cards

Each year brings a new set of these popular "colour-your-own" Christmas Cards. They are especially suitable for children, at home, in school or Sunday school. Standard assortments in an attractive wallet pack, with envelopes and instructions.

Brought forward from page three £

### "CAROL TIME"

.....Pkts. 6 asstd.  
.....Pkts. 12 asstd.  
.....Pkts. 36 asstd.

### "CHRISTMAS DAY"

.....Pkts. 6 asstd.  
.....Pkts. 12 asstd.  
.....Pkts. 36 asstd.

### "CHRISTMAS SCENES"

.....Pkts. 6 asstd. (25 cents) 1s. 8d.  
.....Pkts. 12 asstd. (45 cents) 3s.  
.....Pkts. 36 asstd. (\$1.15) 8s.

For colouring Endsleigh Dainting Cards, and as attractive Christmas Gifts for young people, we can supply "REEVES" WATER COLOURS and "LAKELAND" COLOURED PENCILS. Please turn to order form on page 7.

## Christmas Greeting Cards-Stock Designs

This well-varied assortment of designs published before 1959 are now offered at much reduced prices. The usual discounts also apply (see page 8).

.....COMPLETE SAMPLE SET OF STOCK DESIGNS—32 cards and envelopes listed below (\$1.25) 8s. 6d. £

.....DJ 20	BRINGING IN THE TREE, greetings in 18 African, Asian and European languages. A tall card	4d.	£
.....JJ 27	STABLE SCENE—popular style long card	4d.	£
.....JJ 28	WISE MEN AND SHEPHERDS—as above	4d.	£
.....JJ 29	ANIMALS ADORING—as above	4d.	£
.....JJ 30	CAROL SINGERS—as above	4d.	£
.....HL 1	KITTEN IN THE TREE, charming photographic study	4d.	£
.....ET 3	SUNSHINE AND SNOW, countryside photograph	4d.	£
.....DJ 26	WINTER SCENE, "... seeing the world as a brother ..."	4d.	£
.....AW 8	SALISBURY CATHEDRAL "... pity for all creation ..."	4d.	£
.....ET 1	St. Izaak	4d.	£
.....ACB 1	HERTFORDSHIRE LANE, lovely snow scene photograph	4d.	£
.....JR 3	DR. SCHWEITZER AT LAMBARENE, "Reverence for life ..."	4d.	£
.....GT 1	St. FRANCIS AND THE ANIMALS, Dr. Soper quotation	4d.	£
.....LN 3	CHILD AND CANDLE, photograph, "It is better to light one small candle than to curse the darkness," Confucius	4d.	£
.....DM 1	ALL CREATURES ADORING, Dr. Schweitzer quotation	4d.	£
.....DJ 22	AFRICAN BABY AND STAR, most appealing design	3½d.	£
.....MA 13	WESTMINSTER ABBEY, attractive smaller card	2d.	£
.....DEB 1	DEER AND CHURCH, "Holly and the Ivy" verse	2d.	£
.....MA 9	"WAIT NOT TO BE BACKED BY NUMBERS ...", italic lettered quotation with greetings in nine languages	2d.	£
.....MA 11	CHERUB AND CRIB, charming smaller card	2d.	£
.....Pkts.	CHILDREN AND SNOWMAN, popular children's card	2d.	£
	SINGLE CHRISTMAS CARDS, assorted, neat two-colour designs with greetings and meaningful quotations (Dr. Schweitzer and others). Twelve assorted, with envelopes, in cellophane packet	2s. 6d.	£

Endsleigh Card artists include Marjorie Anderson (MA), Dennis James (DJ), Kathleen Tucker (KT), Joyce Johnson (JJ), Phillipe Cloës (PC), E. Tattersall (ET) and others. We are grateful to them for the lovely designs they have created for us.

Please transfer this total to the summary of your order on page eight TOTAL £



# Housmans Bookshop List and Order Form

*This list may be detached and sent in separately if preferred.*

NAME .....  
 ADDRESS .....  
 BLOCK .....  
 CAPITALS .....  
 PLEASE .....

*A small selection from our stock of book gifts for general reading and for all ages. Any title in print gladly supplied; please give names of author and publisher, if possible.*

*Please add postage as shown in brackets; £2 and over post free.*

.....ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS. A biographical anthology of Mahatma Gandhi's writings.	Paper 12s. 6d. (9d.). Cloth 17s. 6d. (1s.)	£	:	:
.....THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE, Richard Gregg. Revised Indian edition of well-known peace classic	6s. (8d.)	£	:	:
.....STRIDE TOWARDS FREEDOM, Martin Luther King. How American negroes overcame racial discriminations	16s. (9d.)	£	:	:
.....TO FEED THE HUNGRY, Danilo Dolci's struggle to help by non-violent means the poverty stricken Sicilians	30s. (1s.)	£	:	:
.....GEORGE FOX AND THE QUAKERS, Henry van Etten. Translated from the French by E. Kelvin Osborn	Paper 6s. (6d.) Cloth 10s. 6d. (8d.)	£	:	:
.....FRIEND OF LIFE, Elizabeth Gray Vining. A biography of Rufus M. Jones, the famous American Quaker	25s. (1s.)	£	:	:
.....SPEAK YOU SO GENTLY, Kylie Tennant. Well-known Australian novelist writes of an Aborigine Co-operative and its struggle to keep the Reserve on which bauxite was found	18s. (1s.)	£	:	:
.....THE FACE OF WAR, Martha Gellhorn. U.S. War Correspondent writes powerfully against war from her experiences in the Spanish Civil War and onwards	18s. (1s.)	£	:	:
.....ADVENTURERS FOR GOD, Clarence W. Hall. Stories of 13 modern Christians including Father Huddleston and Kagwa	16s. (1s.)	£	:	:
.....NEW OUTLINE OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE, edited by Alan Pryce Jones, many eminent contributors	18s. (1s.)	£	:	:
.....PEAR'S CYCLOPEDIA, 1960 Edtn., comprehensive reference work	17s. 6d. (1s.)	£	:	:
.....COLLIN'S NATIONAL DICTIONARY, 608 pages 8½ in. x 5¼ in. containing 60,000 references	6s. (9d.)	£	:	:
.....CHILDREN OF THE WORLD, delightful pictures by one of the world's greatest photographers	8s. 6d. (9d.)	£	:	:
.....SHELL GUIDE TO WILD LIFE, the latest addition to this popular series	7s. 6d. (6d.)	£	:	:
.....CATS IN COLOUR, delightful Batsford Colour Book	12s. 6d. (9d.)	£	:	:
.....BALLET IN COLOUR, another lovely Batsford title	12s. 6d. (9d.)	£	:	:
.....VICKY'S WORLD, a collection of his best cartoons	15s. (1s.)	£	:	:
.....THE PURPLE AND THE SCARLET, Guy Schofield. A narrative of the first 100 years of Christianity	15s. (10d.)	£	:	:

## *OBSERVER BOOKS, for older children and their parents*

.....CATS	.....TREES	.....SHRUBS	.....MUSIC	.....COMMON INSECTS
.....WEATHER	.....POND LIFE	.....BIRDS	.....GARDEN FLOWERS	5s. (6d.)
£	:	:	:	:

## *Cheap Editions: Penguins and other paper backs*

.....THE LITTLE FLOWERS OF ST. FRANCIS, translated by N. Shirley Price	3s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....THE MANHOOD OF THE MASTER, Henry Emerson Fosdick	3s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....DAWN IN NYASALAND, Guy Clutton Brock	3s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....THE MEANING OF PAUL TODAY, C. H. Dodd	2s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....CHRIST STOPPED AT EBOLI, Carlo Levi	2s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....PETER ABELARD, Helen Waddell	2s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....STRAIGHT AND CROOKED THINKING R. H. Thouless	2s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....TRIAL BY SASSWOOD, Esther Warner	2s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....AN ATLAS OF WORLD AFFAIRS, Andrew Boyd	6s. (6d.)	£	:	:

Brought forward from page five £

.....SHORTENED HISTORY OF ENGLAND, G. M. Trevelyan	6s. (7d.)	£
.....THE CASTLE AND THE FIELD, Harold Loukes, Swarthmore	Lecture, 1959	
	4s. 6d. (6d.)	£
.....KATHLEEN FERRIER, Winifred Ferrier	5s. (6d.)	£
.....COLLECTED POEMS, T. S. Eliot, 1909-35	5s. (6d.)	£
.....VERSE AND WORSE, a humorous anthology	5s. (6d.)	£
.....THE PRIESTLEY COMPANION, a selection of his works	3s. 6d. (6d.)	£
.....SOUTH RIDING, Winifred Holtby	2s. 6d. (4d.)	£
.....THE EGG AND I, Betty MacDonald	2s. 6d. (4d.)	£
.....PENGUIN HEALTH AND BEAUTY RECIPES, O. Golbach	2s. 6d. (4d.)	£

Large selection of other titles available, ask for lists.

### Books for Older Children

.....THE NEW ECYCLOPÆDIA FOR THE YOUNGER GENERATION. A very fine production—recommended	17s. 6d. (1s.)	£
.....GIRLS' BOOK OF HOBBIES .....BOYS' BOOK OF HOBBIES. Suggestions for a wide variety of activities	each 5s. (8d.)	£
.....MAHATMA GANDHI, a biography for children by Reginald Reynolds	8s. 6d. (6d.)	£
.....BRITAIN IS MY HOME, Alexander Hunter. Living geography for boys and girls, 141 illus., many in colour	10s. 6d. (8d.)	£
.....THE STORY OF THE THEATRE, J. B. Priestley. Colour illus. throughout.	18s. 6d. (1s.)	£
.....SIGNS OF CIVILISATION, Lancelot Hogben. A history of human communication from cave paintings to the present day. Colour illus. on every page	18s. 6d. (1s.)	£
.....THEY'RE DROWNING OUR VILLAGE, Ruyters van der Loeff. Alpine children band together to save their village	12s. 6d. (8d.)	£
.....THE LARK IN THE MOON, Elfrida Vipont. A story for girls with a Quaker background	5s. (6d.)	£
.....SIMON, Rosemary Sutcliffe. Boys' story of two friends in the time of the Civil War in England	5s. (6d.)	£

### PUFFIN PICTURE AND STORY BOOKS (full list on request)

.....THE STORY OF JESUS, Eleanor Graham .....WILD ANIMALS IN BRITAIN, P. Chadwick	each 3s. 6d. (4d.)	£
.....AVALANCHE, Ruyters van de Loeff .....EMIL AND THE DETECTIVES, Erich Kastner .....TARKA THE OTTER, Henry Williamson .....ABOUT MAPS, Peter Hood .....BINDING YOUR OWN BOOKS, John Woodcock	each 2s. 6d. (4d.)	£

### Books for Younger Children

.....GOLDEN PICTURE DICTIONARY, 500 words, illus. in full colour	5s. (6d.)	£
.....MOTHER GOOSE NURSERY RHYMES	5s. (6d.)	£
.....PANTALONI, Bettina. The story of a small Italian boy and his dog	10s. 6d. (6d.)	£
.....ELIZABETH AND HER DOLL SUSAN, Lilly Mosheim	4s. 6d. (4d.)	£
.....PETER AND HIS TRICYCLE FLASH, Lilly Mosheim	4s. 6d. (4d.)	£
Large clear text and good colour illustrations.		
.....THE LITTLE FOREST, Rosemary Garland. A little girl makes a miniature forest out of seedlings	6s. 6d. (6d.)	£

### LADYBIRD BOOKS, a few titles from this well-known series

.....RED RIDING HOOD AND GOLDILOCKS AND THE THREE BEARS .....NUMBERS		
.....SHOPPING WITH MOTHER .....GOING TO SCHOOL .....JESUS CALLS HIS DISCIPLES .....NAAMAN AND THE LITTLE MAID .....THE STORY OF JESUS		
.....FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE	each 2s. 6d. (4d.)	£

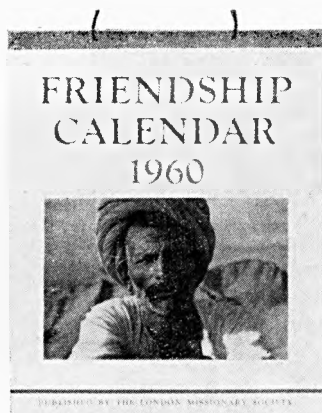
### PUFFIN STORY BOOKS (full list on request)

.....LITTLE PETE STORIES, Leila Berg .....MY NAUGHTY LITTLE SISTER, Dorothy Edwards .....COUNTING BOOK .....THE CAVE TWINS, L. F. Perkins	each 2s. 6d. (4d.)	£
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Unless ordering books separately, please

add total to summary on page eight £





## Christmas Gifts and Stationery

*A selection of well-designed, useful and moderately priced gifts. We shall be glad to refund payment if your purchases do not give complete satisfaction.*

.....PEACE DIARY FOR 1960, with most useful 34 page World Peace Directory giving addresses, officers, etc., of all the major organisations and periodicals in Great Britain, the U.S. and elsewhere Overseas, all usual information, leathercloth binding, 4½ in. x 3 in.	(50 cents) 3s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....FRIENDSHIP CALENDAR FOR 1960 in full-colour	(60 cents) 4s. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....ADDRESS BOOK, leather bound, gilt edges, 5½ in. x 3½ in.	(\$1) 6s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....ADDRESS BOOK, grained plastic binding, 4½ in. x 2½ in.	(50 cents) 3s. 3d. 4d.	£	:	:
....."WISDOM" BIRTHDAY BOOK, strong linson bound, attractive quotation for every day, 5 in. x 3½ in.	(50 cents) 6s. 3d. (4d.)	£	:	:
PHOTOGRAPH ALBUMS, attractive grained covers, tassel-tied, sizes 14 in. x 10½ in. (matching box), 12 in. x 8½ in. and 8½ in. x 6½ in., prices as follows				
.....LARGE 12s. 6d. (9d.)	.....MEDIUM 4s. 6d. (6d.)	.....SMALL 2s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:
STAMP ALBUMS, well-known "Errimar" range, profusely illustrated, some with maps in colour and index, prices as follows				
....."PACIFIC" (loose leaf) 15s. (1s.)	....."CORONA" (boards) 5s. (6d.)			
....."WORLD WIDE" (stiff covers)	2s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....AUTOGRAPH ALBUM with pencil, various attractive covers,	2s. 9d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....ARTISTS SKETCHING TABLET, white cartridge paper, stiff back, 12 in. x 9 in.	2s. (4d.)	£	:	:
....."REEVES" WATER COLOUR BOX, with 12 large renewable colours and brush, as supplied to schools	5s. 6d. (6d.)	£	:	:
"LAKELAND" COLOURED PENCILS, fine quality, attractively boxed,				
.....six assorted colours	3s. 3d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....twelve assorted colours	5s. 9d. (6d.)	£	:	:
"WAVERLEY NOTELETS," most popular notepaper/greetings cards, lovely designs, 12 Notelets with envelopes, attractively boxed				
.....WILD FLOWERS .....PUPPIES AND KITTENS .....GARDEN FLOWERS 3s. 3d. (4d.)				
£ :				
Long-shaped Notelets in handsome gift wallet				
.....ORCHIDS .....DAFFODILS .....ROSES .....THISTLE	4s. 6d. (4d.)	£	:	:
.....STATIONERY GIFT BOXES, "Bonnie Heather" and "Bouquet"	3s. 6d. (6d.)	£	:	:
.....CHILDREN'S STATIONERY COMPENDIUMS, gay designs	1s. 11d. (3d.)	£	:	:
.....CHRISTMAS WRITING PADS, 8 in. x 5 in., seasonal cover	1s. 3d. (3d.)	£	:	:

*Leather-style plastic gifts, excellent value, very attractive.*

.....WRITING CASES with pad and envelopes, many lovely styles	.....LARGE with Zip (boxed)	14s. 9d. (9d.)	.....LARGE without Zip (boxed)	9s. 9d. (8d.)	£	:	:
.....MEDIUM without Zip, many new styles	4s. 11d. (6d.)				£	:	:
.....BREAST POCKET WALLET	2s. 11d. (3d.)	.....POCKET SECRETARY	2s. 9d. (3d.)				
.....NOTEBOOK/VANITY CASE	3s. 3d. (3d.)	.....NOTEBOOK	1s. 8d. (2d.)				
.....BRIEF CASE	15½ in. x 11 in., single pocket, envelope style, boxed	14s. 6d. (9d.)				£	:

## Christmas Gift Dressings

.....pkts. WRAPPING PAPER, 6 asstd. large sheets, tasteful designs	1s. 3d. (3d.)	£	:	:
.....pkts. ASSORTED GIFT DRESSINGS, tags, labels, seals, etc.	9d. (1d.)	£	:	:
.....rolls FANCY SEALING TAPE 1s. (1d.)	.....cards FANCY TYING RIBBON 6d. (1d.)	£	:	:

*Please transfer total to summary of order on page eight*